grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he [556] [574]
is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowandus itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, [554]
occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives [627]
in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the 175
present administration of the district with that of the 634
Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. 648
In that time Rowandus was the seat (a kaza) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464
cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen
more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, 554
and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which 463
are menial and those which are not. A successful kababchi
or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the area as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as [482]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The per- [548]
manent population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the first World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

they do not exercise the influence, economic as well as social, in the community of these of larger estates. Without exhausting the list of the "rich," the ten wealthiest persons in Rowandus, together with the types of their property, are given here:

As'ad Effendi: 1 house, 1 shop, money
Hajji Ibrahim: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Hajji Muhammad Amin: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Hajji Mustafa Shakir: 1 house, money
Lali Khan: 7 villages (including Dyana), land, many houses, about 30 shops, money
Muri Bawil Agha: 1 village, land, 1 house
Ra'uf Effendi: land, 6 houses
Sadiq Agha: 1 village, 1 house
Sayyid Hajji: 2 shops, 1 house, money
Shakir Effendi: 1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large holding can have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Lali Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rowandus adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a marcantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

storeroom, although sometimes lockedin a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the woman, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [957]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is no herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work o the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certainamount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296]

In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 443 556

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and divankhanag open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the ghalebig and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As had been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest menial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse 611
of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is 853
the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune
in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been 582
nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a 834
youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his 608
wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, 611
one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be 853
subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some
woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of
these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through
"blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of
marriage between two generations. To amplify this state-
ment, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been
nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not
apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he 595
so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents
many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First,
he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry,
as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and
maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive under-
taking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the [556]
prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, [578]
the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or
more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the
Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and
in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such
a situation

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the mu'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorce, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rowandux, once the problem of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin hid from a big petrol drum. This was the hammām, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather bathed himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived.

342 Later on the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two easternmost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *ḫeyāṭ* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that, rotated on a pivot stone hid out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[50] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed on the cooking pit. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

[351]

[352]

[352]

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[51] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taufiq's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of this veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

or drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms. There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

CHAPTER III

APPEARANCE

Women's dress. The appearance of Kurdish women is created by her dress, her jewellery and beauty culture. For the prosperous the dress materials are: silk, artificial silk, brocade, satin and velvet. Light colours for the young, dark for their elders. The predominant colours are: crimson, purple, turquoise, rose and green. Women's dress, *libâs*, consists of elements essentially Kurdish in form and composition, elements connected with Islam, and elements introduced from Western culture.

Kurdish elements. Trousers, *âwâl-â'wâl*, (E. 2333, E. 2339) are about 1 m. long and about 2.30 m. wide at the top. Here they are gathered with a casing and rest on the hips. At the extremities each trouser leg is 1.15 m. wide and gathered around the ankles[1] with a draw string. From the point of view of cut they are legging trousers[2] with an inserted square gusset 0.25 m. - 0.20 m. The upper part of the trousers is of white cotton material, the lower part of coloured cloth of, say, cotton, taffeta or brocade[3].

Shift or petticoat, *kin-â'wâh*, (E. 2334) is about 0.90 m. long with large arm openings and large, round neckline, identical front and back. The width above is 1.20 m., below 1.70 m. so that it does not tighten when the wearer sits tailor fashion. It comes down over the knees hiding the upper-most white section of the trousers. The material is shiny, coloured artificial silk.

The gown or kirtle, *kirâs*, (E. 2335, 2340, 2350), is 1.28 m. to 1.38 m. long and drags along the ground. In cut it is a poncho gown[4] with inserted side gores, small circular neck line with short vent[5]. The sleeves are 0.40 m. wide, attached to the body at right angles and ending in funnel-shaped cuffs, the length of which, is 0.85 m. to 1.10 m. These cuffs are pulled out through the sleeves of garments worn on top in cold weather (coat or cafian, or both) and wound around the wrist[6] arm. In warm weather, when there are no outer garments, the cuffs are tied in a knot at the points and thrown over the back, leaving the sleeves open and half-length[7]. During prayer the tied cuffs are undone so that they hang out over the hands, the tips reaching the ground. The material of the kirtle can be dark, flowered cotton or patterned chiffon. During work the kirtle may be shortened by being pushed down half-way under the casing of the trousers.

The waistcoat, *xemil*, (E. 2336, E. 2341) 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long and 0.40 m. broad consists of two bodice fronts and one back, joined by slanting shoulder seams and straight side seams, or cut out of one piece of material bent in from each side so that it only has the slanting shoulder seams. It has big, enlarged armholes. The material is cotton or brocade in strong colours, lined with white cotton.

[P.65]
[Text continues top of P. 68--Analyst]

sleep in the same room as those with whom marriage was precluded. After the drawing up of the marriage settlement he was thus considered as already her brother-in-law. (That engagements are just as binding as marriage is mentioned by Blackman[557] in regard to the Egyptian fellahin). On the other hand, he will never shake with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not very often pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the white veil over her head when speaking to him, but at the same time went about in a remarkably slovenly way, attired in old, dirty clothes. The two young people were to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with that part of the paid-up bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suit in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 15 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an Iraqi-Arab hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all four shared a room in which they had both slept and eaten their meals, prepared food having been bought at shops in the town. As at home there was no undressing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 20 year old brother at the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young couple were never alone but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

When the prospective bride was on an excursion by car with the women of the house and her elder brother, she (and the other women) were *abd* and veil, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or her future in-laws. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[558] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people must not meet each other whilst they are engaged, and the prospective bride must hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[559]*, its employment and sociological significance.*

The bride price mahr is mentioned in the Quran, Sura 4, verse 4 and Sura 5, verse 5, as the ordained morning-gift, for it expressly lays down that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the peoples who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1778 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from Old Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained for her, only a small remission being given her in return, whereas the Arabs and Turks expend the whole bride price on the bride's effects and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying: "many daughters are thus with them a source of wealth"[560].

In a humble village called, Bellisa, I was told that a 11-12 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 20 Din., plus a dress for the bride. Whether the sum was paid out in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[561] says of the Bakhtiari that the bride price can be paid in the form of a

619 This whole framework of formal organization may be diagrammatically illustrated as below, Diagram 3.

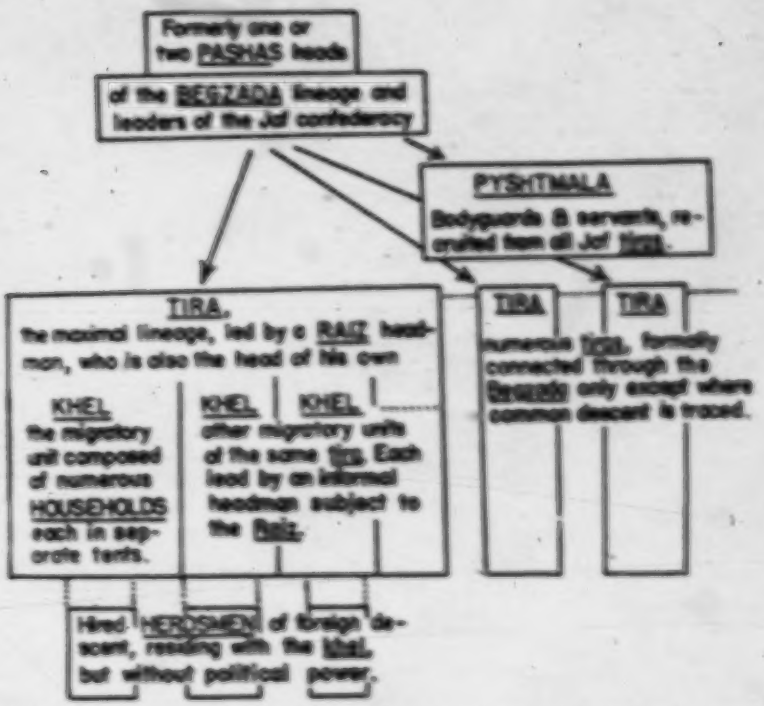
Formerly one or two PASHAS heads
of the BEGZADA lineage and leaders of the Jaf confederacy
PYSHTMALA
Bodyguards & servants, recruited from all Jaf tiras.
TIRA,
the maximal lineage, led by a RAIS headman, who is also the head of his own
KHEL,
the migratory unit composed of numerous HOUSEHOLDS each in separate tents.
KHEL
KHEL
other migratory units of the same tira. Each lead by an informal headman subject to the Rais.
TIRA
TIRA
numerous tiras, formally connected through the Begzada only except where common descent is traced.
Hired HERDSMEN of foreign descent, residing with the khel, but without political power.

Diagram No. 3. Formal organization of the nomadic Jaf.

556 233 609 233 Within the *khel*, wealth, primarily in the form of herds, is the main source of power. Any member of the *tira* has unlimited grazing rights for his flocks, so there is no legal limit to the accumulation of wealth. The cattle are herded in flocks of 300 or so, with one herdsman for each flock. Herdsmen are preferably hired among the poor people of the *tira*, or they may be «foreigners» associated with the *khel* purely because of their economic functions. The typical pattern is to exploit poor relatives for this purpose, a practice familiar DOC from Central Asiatic nomads (e. g. Hudson, 1938, p. 57). Self-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Upon his succession to leadership in the Shaikh family, Shaikh Mahmud continued his father's policy with great force. Southern Kurdistan was at the time in a state of anarchy, large areas had been depopulated, the old trade and pilgrim routes were largely closed by brigands, especially by the Hamawands, who successfully challenged Ottoman supremacy in the face of large punitive expeditions.

Obviously in such a situation; conflicting stories are told about the part played by each faction in the struggle, and the various versions of Shaikh Mahmud's career form no exception. Any evaluation of the practical and moral virtues of his activities is outside the present scope, and must be based on much fuller evidence than is available at present. What is of interest in this context is merely the foundations of his power and the form of his control in the area.

Economic basis. From the modest beginnings in Baban times, the family's economic power was progressively enhanced. The possibilities inherent in the Ottoman practices of land registration seem to have been utilized. After closer relations had been established with the Sultan, the Shaikhs were able to gain control over numerous villages by buying the land at very low rates from the government. A major source of revenue that made this type of transaction possible was the ownership of the Bazaar (market district) of Suleimani (even today, 1/4 of the Bazaar belongs to the Shaikh family vs. 3/4 municipally owned). In addition to its economic importance, this also enabled the family in effect to control the city of Suleimani. The Shaikh family thus became one of the three major landowning groups in the area. It should however be pointed out that in spite of nearly continuous expansion of property, the whole Shaikh family today owns less land than *one* member of the Jaf *Beyzade* alone (Hassan Beg of Halabja). Thus Shaikh Mahmud's political supremacy did not derive directly from *ownership*; landed property merely offered the necessary economic foundation for his political activity.

Sown-sacred position. As descendants of the Prophet, the Shaikhs' family is considered to be vested with certain supernatural powers, derived secondarily from the sainted ancestor Kaka Hamasa. This gives Shaikh Mahmud the specific power to make amulets that

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shwtini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab bolemin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else depute one of his sons to do so. 342. 574 622.

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance. 574 421

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammad of Walash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Hamperdan. On average my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (36 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure 574 586 622.

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574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
272 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
435 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
574 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

177 668 they did once, in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man [578] dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.[1] This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[1] Kurdish dress consists of a tasseled turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey pants of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kammerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine sash than on a good *kabab*. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

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